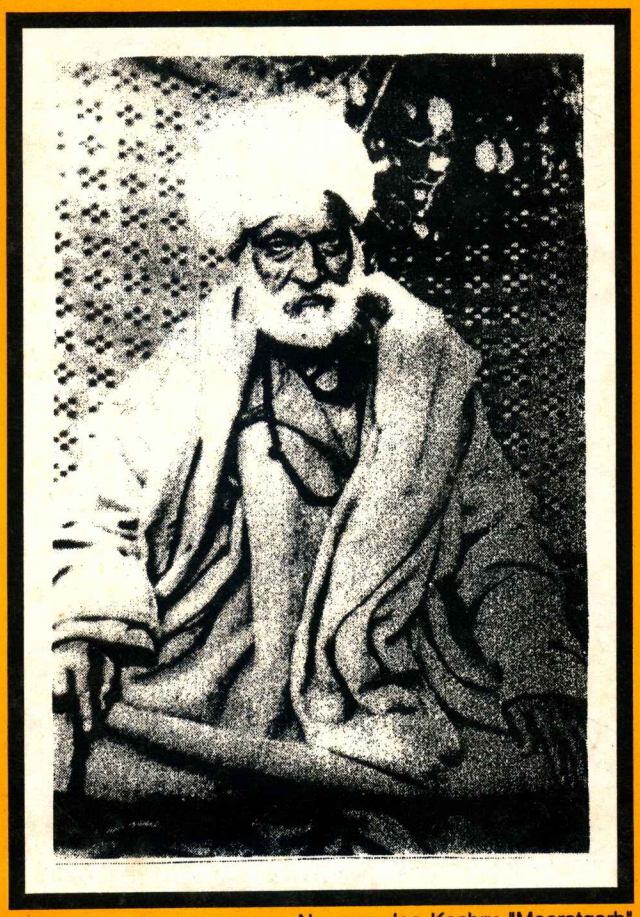
R.N.I. Regd. No. : DELENG/2002/8792

Neelamatam

Vol 1 Issue No. 2 August 2003

नमस्ते शारदा देवी कशमीर पुरवासिनी

ज्ञानं अन्नं



Narayan Joo Kachru "Mooratgarh"
Courtesy : Ms. Kishori Kaul

नीलमतम्

Research Journal of Nityanand Shastri Kashmir Research Institute

THE DRIFTING ICEBERG

The inception of twentieth century for Kashmir was what Renaissance was for the revolutionizing the culture of European society. This was the era (1900-1912) when the foundation for the modernization and change in the socio-cultural pattern was effectively taken up for the reasons of degrading and bemeaning socio-cultural condition and pathetic economic situation. All productive professions and wealth-generating activities were considered to be bemeaning professions, fit for only the lowest-of-the low and for the social outcasts. The fundamentalist, dogmatic and Brahmanic untouchability that was gilted with Babu-dom, had reduced all practical and wealth producing economic professions to the meanest professions of the socio-cultural society. Thus all technologies, technical professions, crafts, arts and the likes were considered fit for the meanest of the sections to produce and cater to the consumption of the elite.

It would be abhorring for the Pandit to touch a tool or any instrument of production; and if done so, he would have to face the status of an untouchable. He would be at the mercy of the fundamentalist Brahamanic Mandal that would, though reluctantly, prescribe under very special conditions a Prayaschit for purification.

I am reminded of amusing incident that I read, many years ago, in a well known book 'Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade', authored by well known educationist Mr. Tyndale Biscoe. A Pandit teacher from one of his schools wanted to seek an audience in his House Boat that was then moored in Chinar Bagh across the bund that led towards the Dalgate. To short-cut the round about distance the teacher decided to push across the canal, applying his foot or forcing across a small boat lying moored at the bank. Unfortunately the boat lost its momentum right in the middle of the stream and started drifting down along with the current. The Pandit felt miserably pathetic and imploring, despite the fact that the hand-paddle (Chappu) was lying in the boat to ferry him across quite conveniently. But alas! He cannot touch the oars. The moment he does, his Panditship is lost and he becomes an outcast. All through the course of the happening, Tyndale Biscoe and his wife, were amusing themselves with the ignorance and pathos of the Pandit who was drifting away mearly because of his ignorance, and being a sad victim of his social fundamentalism.

Later, when Mr. Tyndale Biscoe introduced Regatta, boating and aquatics in the curriculum of the education in his chain of schools in the heart of Srinagar, the rock bed of Brahamanic fundamentalism started showing its weak spots and fissures. A new set of educated had already emerged to handle the very un-Brahamanic oar to their advantage and achievement. Not to speak of the untouchable oar, the boating, aquatics and regattas had mastered the waters. The legendary and formidable "Twelve – Oared" red and white stripped twelve seater had mastered the surge of Wular Lake under the leadership of legendary Nanak Chand, popularly known 'Nana-Batuk'. The official presence of Maharaja, of officialdom and visitation of viceroys and governor generals at the aquatic races and competitions turned the untouchable oar into a mark of social respectability; and the Brahamanic community had no hesitation in casting away to winds unabashedly their fundamentals for the sake of achieving the new respectability.

Like wise, in order to free the other professional and productive instrumentations from the slur of social abnegation and disrepute, a technological institute came into existence that would render a status of engineering and technological curricula, and provide a technical diploma for a future professional career and employment. The regular training classes and courses were set up for imparting training in the professions of Builders, Carpentry, Wicker-craft, Smithy, Draftsmanship, Designing and Commercial Painting. Thus a majestic and an impressive institute with full equipment was installed in an architectonic edifice. The well known Amar Singh Technical Institute in Srinagar started to render the degree of respectability to the professions of craftsmanship and economic productivity. An expert of high technological caliber Mr. F.H.Andrews, who also happened to be a close intellectual collaborator of well known explorer, geographer and historian, Sir Aurel Stein, took the charge of directorship of the institution. It was precisely due to his tireless direction and organization that the industrial craft professions were raised to the status of curricular programme of teaching, and thus concluding with the conferment of diplomas and certificates which would make the candidate eligible for any and engineering appointment.

After having completed a long tenure of 28 years of successful programme of training and teaching in the Institute, it was on a pleasant early summer day of the year 1942, that after my college classes I happened to climb up the majestic steps of the architectonic edifice of Amar Singh Technical Institute. It was purely with the intension of surveying for any chance for finding a source for the furtherance of any knowledge to satisfy my talents of art and painting. I ventured to tap on the door of the principal's room, and I was very civilly welcomed by a jaunty well built personality with bushy moustache. He was one Mr. Jyotish Chandra Mukherjee, R.A. (Royal Academician). I expressed my desire to find any possibility for furtherance of practice and knowledge in art of painting. I was conducted into a special Fine Art Section which was a latest addition to the Institute.

The memorable days of the directorship of Mr. F.H.Andrews had since gone, but the long and lingering shadows of the stalwart were persisting through their past companionship with their master. The teaching personalities like Pandit Jagannath Mattoo (Designing Expert), Pandit Satlal Kampasi, a painter who had the good fortune of being a student of Abanendranath Tagore, the famous leader of Bengal Revivalist Movement of Indian Art; and the master Builder (whose name I don't recollect), all these personalities were enthusiastically carrying forward the ideals of their Master and the Guide.

The student technologists of the Institute who graduated in various streams, came together and created an edifice representing a perfect utilitarian design, a monolithic structure in strength, solidity, material quality and building proportions. Right from the visualization of the design under the leadership of Pundit Jagannath Mattoo, the student Draftsmen laid the design on the paper, the Builders, Carpenters and Smiths lent to the completion of the structure that became popular as Andrew's Bungalow, because the director himself was fascinated to make the house as his own place of residence. This example of perfection, strength and solidity, till today is defiantly standing erect and is now housing the Srinagar Polytechnic.

In the year 1916 a great happening, now of the national pride and prowess, took place in the quadrangle of the Institute. It was in the month of October that a huge caravan of goods and guides from Central Asia entered the premises of the Institute. The purpose for this destination is revealed by the master of the caravan himself. In the concluding pages of the account of his Third Expedition and Exploration (July 1913 – March 1916, traversing 11 thousand miles) to Central Asia, Sir Aurel Stein himself writes. "At Srinagar the one hundred eighty two (182) cases of my collection of antiquities from Turkistan had safely arrived by October, and there the greatest part of the work demanded by its arrangement and detailed examination will have to be done with the expert help of my old friend and collaborator, Mr. F.H.Andrews, now Director of the Technical Instititute and Industrial Art School of the Kashmir state". Later the well known Central Asian Antiquity Museum in New Delhi was set up to house this collected treasure. Now the collection formulates the prestigious place in the National Museum in New Delhi.

It was during the tenure of my partial studentship (1941-42) at the Institute, that I happened to be deeply impressed by the technological genius and thinking of Mr. Jagannath Mattoo, who revealed me the linear qualities, language and thought embedded in a line after having acquired control over its sweep and expressions. It was during those memorable and absorbing interlocutions that Mr. Mattoo revealed his experiences of handling the wonderous collection from Central Asia in which he himself helped and assisted Mr. Andrews in the preliminary restoration, treatment, cataloguing and detailing notes. Those were my first christenings in to the knowledge and spread of world culture and its aesthetic evolution evolved by the human experience at large. It was only He who always incised in me his needling tentacles to detect the qualities he professed about their future flowering. He always tried to make me conscious of my inherent aesthetic qualities.

Mr. Mattoo appeared a dwarfish but broad structured being full of self contained storage. He possessed a pair of wide pool like eyes, observing but penetrating. He never spoke but only when he must, always alert to guide and give helping hand only to deserving one. He was most silent but observant.

The chilling frigidity of conservatism, and a low caste untouchable attitude (specially amongst the Pandits) towards engineering and industrial arts and crafts was breaking into drifts; and the Technical Institute had done its first spade work by pro-

viding the curricula status to Industrial Crafts in to the education. It was through this Institution that the Nationalist Movements of Bengal Revivalism penetrated into the local society. The formulation of the library containing books and imprints from E.B.Havell, Abanendranath Tagore, Nandlal Bose and Rabindranath Tagore, imparted the status of respectability to the artistic professions. It provided a strong queue, to a large extent, to the Modern Art Movement to cast away the bemeaning shackles and enter as a vital channel into the contemporary National Indian Art Movement.

The first documentation of the movement has just commenced, and to be serialized through Neelamatam with the first such installment through the following pages.

Editor

Kashmiri Pandits - Originators of Pahari-Kangra School of Art

- P.N. Kachru

"The Migrants" – this is the calling through which the authorities, the media and the publicity have stamped, marketed and thus made us known. Being an artist and a man of culture, I ponder over this calling differently. It is the migration that has given rise to the world cultures. Migrations have been the very basis and the reason for interaction between the races and tribes that sauntered on the surface of the most ancient soils. It is through migrations that different cultures, beliefs and philosophies interacted, got enriched, intermingled and mixed-up into the cauldron of commingled interaction through which human culture got thickened and concocted into a highly energetic tonic that turned the human being worthy of calling himself civilised. The mighty drama of migratory commingleMent of the three earliest sisters of civilisation, nourished the Indo-Mesopotamian culture. The massive migration from the North, seeking warmer pastures, resulted in Indo-Aryan or Indo-Germanic culture that gave birth to Vedic and the Zendic cultures. The great Indo-Bactro-Grecian culture that mixed-up and thrived in North-Western India and was responsible for the evolution of richest movements known as Gandhara and Mathura Schools which were destined to thrive into the golden age of Guptas. This cultural movement was responsible for infiltration and enrichment of North India, which culminated into the aesthetic pinnacles of Kashmir school by establishing, now internationally known, the *Wushkar Baroque*[1]. These powerful trends were migrated-in deeply by artists of Kashmir, to little and greater Tibets, Central Asia, Mongolia and China.

Kashmir also had its share of migration-in and migration-out of various hordes tribes and communities. The compromise of Nila with the migratory Kashypa and the regular combined expeditions towards North for the massacre and annihilation of Pisachas over the desert of Takalamakan; twice the destruction of *Poornadisthan*, the ancient city of Srinagar, by the Toonganees who were the ferocious cross-breed from Mangols and Chinese women, all these are the well-established facts of the cross-cultures of our history.

The Kashmiri painters, in their heyday of established movements had chiseled and garnished a style based on the traditions of Harvan formalism and *Baroque of Wushkar* school and contented with their philosophic thought. The chromatically decorative element composed with spatially organised figurative symbols constituted the great Kashmir murals, of which the majestic but lingering appearance still stands in the monasteries of Alchi in Ladakh, waiting pathetically for its demise.

Further, the style was subtly and sensitively ornamented with the linear sensibilities observed in Mathura and Pala schools, While on their seasonal sojourns and pilgrimages hordes of such aesthetes and creators went out in the company of eminent and propagating Kashmiri scholars under numerous leading painters like Hasuraj and lead their artistic movement as far as into Tibet, while contributing to the establishment of themes of Buddhistic *Mahayana–Vajrayana* in Central Asian regions.

The barbaric and devastative onslaught of Islamic iconoclasm, ushered in early thirteenth century, which vandalised, ignited and razed to ground all the monumental edifices and temples of national sanctity along with the invaluable and creative wall frescoes, murals and gold gilt paintings. The examples are still lingering over the mud walls of monasteries of Alchi. Consequent to this the Kashmiri painter suffered a deep cultural shock and a grievous starvation for means and methods of expression. But, as always like a typical Pandit he not only survived the shock but came up with an alternative equipment that did not only bring forth but strengthened and energised the Kashmir miniaturist movement. Thus the base for expression shifted from monumental areas and structures to portable areas of *Burjapatras* and home made papers. This alternative means for expression did not only safeguard the continuance of his creativity secretly, but also made it easy for him to carry his masterpieces in case of his migration to seek shelter for his life. This physical fanning out widened the field of diffusion for the Kashmir style, leaving behind the pieces of master–expression not only in neighbouring Himachal principalities but in places of pilgrimage like Kurukshetra, Vrindavan, Haridwar and in as far away places as Sangam and Varanasi.

During the transitory periods of peace in the valley the customary pilgrimages, particularly in winters, had taken the shape of an intensified yatra of *Sthanapatis (Thanapti)* from numerous religio-cultural centers like *Jeshtheswara*, *Martand* (Matan) and *Vijeyashwra* (Vejabror). This would compensate their prevailing penury through annual visitations to their Jajmans living in various Indian principalities. These hordes of migratory Brahmins were joined by numerous painters, calligraphers and scribes who, in their search for economic survival, would move from village to village, particularly in neighbouring outer Himalayas and Punjab. The numerous groups of scribes and painters would drop themselves in a nearby *Sarai* of a town at its outskirts and then fan out in the alleys of township and would hawk and call *Muratgarrh! Chitragarh! Likhari!* In later periods of Indian Muslim rule their calls changed into *Mussavir, Katib, Mussavir-mi-katib,* the painter and scribe together.

In absence of printing technology the profession of a scribe and book illuminator proved to be an indispensable profession that kept the starving Brahmin and painter wedded to his staunch faith and philosophy. He would hawk in the various lanes of Indian settlements and would transcribe and illumine the various tattering *Pothis* and manuscripts. It had become customary for every household to provide these pundits free quantities of oil, besides their wages, so that they could finish their job by burning the midnight oil. The wandering Pandits would pack up their bundles the moment their job would finish, and would move to another *Sarai* and seek out their job for transcription and illumination. At the advent of spring time, in case the situation permitted, these groups would return to the valley to spend their summer time with their kin and families.

Various collectors and research scholars, particularly Swiss, German and American teams and organisations have collected a sizable number of such manuscripts and *Pothis* from various Indian townships, scribed and painted by these wandering pilgrims of culture who have fanned out the aesthetic elements of Kashmir School to wider areas of the subcontinent. Recently, one of the most creative collections of a high aesthetic order lying now in the Museum Reitburg, Zurich from Alice Boner collection of Switzerland, has been published by these authorities. This is one of the finest collections of Kashmir School, depicting the various forms of *Shakti* as interpreted through the creative forms of Kashmir Miniaturist movement in recent history too Kashmir had to pass through a convulsive trauma brought in by fanatic converts of Mongol breed that led to the mass exodus of Brahmins, not once but several times, through the past centuries for adhering to their faith and philosophy. In such migrations there were some talented sculptors and painters who, for centuries, had been responsible in establishing the Kashmiri school of sculpture and post-Gupta schools of Pala styles in painting and were responsible in spreading the movement to Tibet and Central Asian regions. Under the severe threat of proslytisation, and under the threat of being dubbed creators of Idolatry, these artists seem to have migrated for their life into the neighbouring principalities of Himachal Pradesh. It was in this region of outer Himalayas where the Kashmir Schools thrived again and gave rise to gorgeous tapestry of art that became internationally known as Pahari movements, culminating in renowned Kangra Kalam or Kangra School of Painting.

This renaissance of Pahari Culture was a post Mogul phenomena when the most of the Himachal princedoms and states could independently look after their principalities. Most of the princes who had to be in attendance to the Mogul court and had to eek out the resources of their states in order to cater to the whimsical demands of the monarch and also, had to see the fullness of the imperial coffers, which not only reduced the states to penury and poverty but also created local cultural vacuum. Most of the artistic talents hovered round the imperial court for seeking recognition and prosperity. This cultural exodus did a great disservice to the then leading northern schools. The artists got detached from their respective traditions, trends and locale and had to be subservient to the moods and methods of the monarch, besides reducing their talents to mere eulogy and falsehood. With the disintegration of the Imperial rule the Rajas and the princes reverted back to their principalities to reorganise their home rule. The cultural scene of the Himachal principalities again reverberated and started rejuvenating amongst its milieu and methods and traditions which were vitalised and reinterpreted by the Kashmir Movement. Thus the post Mogul vacuum was filled and augmented with the rich Baroque introduced by the talented fugitive Kashmiri artist family, seeking refuge from the threat of proslytisation.

This family of *Rajanka* (Razdan or Raina) brahmins swept the entire region with the genius and were responsible for the introduction of one of the most romantic movements in fine art in almost all the principalities of Jasrota, Bashli, Guler, Jammu, Chamba, Noorpur and Kangra. The family swept, dominated and led the movement through 1658 to ending 19th century in almost all the centers of art-activity and enjoyed favourable positions

with various Rajas of the Pahari principalities.

Pandit Seu[2] Raina is the ancestor of this family who, it is presumed, left Kashmir under the threat of forced conversion, sometime in mid 17th century and settled in Guler[3] during the reign of Raja Dalip Singh and Raja Bikram Singh. Elucidiates Mr. M. S. Randhawa (ICS) that "Proslytism of Islam was at its height during the last years of the reign of Aurangzeb. In the last quarter of the 17th century and the first quarter of the 18th century a number of Kashmiri Brahmins migrated from Kashmir to Kangra valley to seek sanctuary in the courts of the Rajas of Kangra Hill states. It is very likely that Pandit Seu was one of them". Even now, as witnessed during the research on the subject, it has been found that there are a number of families of Kashmiri Brahmins, particularly Rainas, who have settled in Haripur Guler as well as in some villages in Tehsil Palampur. The family's origin has been confirmed repeatedly through their initials on various panitings done by Pandit Seu and two of his renowned painter sons Manak (Mana) and Nainsukh (Nana) who mostly impress their name prefixed with 'Pandit' and suffixed with 'Raina' or *'Rajanka'*.

Pandit Seu Raina founded and introduced the "pre-Kangra" style in Guler under the princely patronage of Raja Dulip Singh. The style richly vibrated with an amalgam of Phari folk and Kashmir Pala style. The static attitude of forms, the solidity and formality of the figures and the division of picture spaces – all these qualities were imposed with decorative brilliance of colours, which imparted the tribal passion, energy, vehemence and depth of thoughtfulness in paintings. These qualities which are basically the elements of Kashmir School, are primarily responsible for the powerful sprouting of Basohli School which, it seems that Pandit Seu and his two genius sons Manak and Nainsukh, have inculcated under the patronage of the then Basohli Raja. As recorded, the most regular and frequent movement of Pandit Seu and his genius sons between Basohli and Guler do indicate that the father and the two sons must have been working simultaneously in Basohli and Guler, as the two centers are very near to each other. Besides, the interaction of influences must have worked through past centuries, as then the town has been an important stoppage on the trade route between Kashmir, Punjab and rest of India; and also when Raja Amrit Pal (1757 – 1776) had been a reputed lover of art and culture.

The early quarter of twentieth century regenerated the discovery[4] of these movements, particularly of Basohli which have become much sought after and fabulously priced pieces of art. Incidentally, it was by sheer chance that a sizeable collection of Basohli came as a valued share to our state[5].

In fact, with Pandit Seu's entry into Raja Dulip Singh's atelier a complete change took place in the outlook of the workshop and brought into practice the style popularly known as "Pre-Kangra Kalam". Later on, the style seems to have spread effectively to other states, but most effectively persued in Guler, Basohli and Jammu. Subjectwise, Pandit Seu seemed to have invested his genius in portraitures, which could successfully maintain the pictorial qualities of vertical projection and attainment of dimensions by juxtaposition and interspersing of forms and surfaces over his canvas. Some of his highly technical and dexterous portrait studies are luckily salvaged and preserved in various museums and collections. Notable of them are : the portrait sketches of his two sons, Manak and Nainsukh, the

famous standard bearers of the movement[6]. While he was under the employ of Raja Dulip Singh of Guler, Pandit Seu had done some of the masterly portrait studies superimposed with highly sensitive and linear brushwork; such as Mian Gopal Singh of Guler playing chess (Chandigarh Museum), formerly in the collection of Guler Darbar; "A Seated Courtier" (Victoria and Albert Museum, London); Raja Bishen Singh of Guler (in the National Museum, New Delhi) and again "Raja Bishen Singh", presently in the collection of late Sir Cowasji Jahangir, Bombay, the renowned patron of the modern Indian Art movements. Besides, the portrait of Raja Bikram Singh of Guler, "doing puja" and a "battle scene" (Chandigarh Museum), the "Dancing Darveshes" (in Lahore Museum), all are the subjects for a deeper study and appreciation for aesthetics. The frozen attitudes of hands, the solidity and formality of the figures and the division of the picture spaces – all these qualities were imposed with decorative brilliance of colours which imparted the tribal passion, energy, vehemence and depth of thoughtfulness in canvases. These qualities which are basically the elements of Kashmir School are primarily responsible for the powerful sprouting of Basohli School, which it seems that Pandit Seu and his two genius sons have inculcated under the then patronage of Basohli Raja.

The three generations of Seu Raina spearheaded the fusion of Basohli Baroque to the final flowering of the new movement that culminated in Kangra School. This transformation was the work of a single family of influential artists who originated from Kashmir[7]. The family worked at several hill centers. Guler is the center for this technical development where the family of Pandit Seu got settled in their initial stage. Seu's son Nainsukh is the best known and the most "innovative". He was employed by Raja Balwant Singh of Jasrota (1724 – 1763). After Balwant Singh's death in 1763, Niansukh moved to Basohli where his elder brother Manaku was working and was practising and propagating the new style. One of Nainsukh's sons was working in the court of Raj Singh (1764 – 1794) the ruler of Chamba[8].

The ultimate blooming of the style in Kangra under the patronage of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) was piloted by the third generation of Pandit Seu's dynasty. It was here that the lyrical Guler style reached a high point in the Love themes of Kangra Kalam and the subjects and themes were from the love poems from the *Rasikapriya* of Keshav Das, the court poet of Raja Madhukar Shah (1580-1601) of Central India. The *Nayak* and *Nayika* in the *Rasikapriya* are Krishna and Radha, the ideal love symbols of God and soul[9]. *"Geet-Govinda"* series and *"Bhagwat Purana"* also were the themes of this movement.

Geet-Govinda of the Vashnavite poet Jaideva has achieved its passionate excellence through the master pieces created by the renowned painter Manaku, the eldest son of Pandit Seu. Poet Jaideva was court-poet of Sena King Lakshmana Sena of Bengal wherefrom the Pala-Sena movement of the Gupta's laid a marked influence on Kashmir School. Besides, as typical of the nature of an artist, Manaku was inspired by the poet's weaving into his songs an eroticism of fascinating hearty imageries which make the poems throb with passion, and above all, the word-music which flows like a murmuring brook gushing in a verdant forest. The rich imageries, the pen-pictures of landscape and the treatment of various states of love became a treasure and a rich tapestry for

artist to draw upon. The artist's technical excellence, aesthetic sensitivity and emotional vibrations were idealised through the expression of his lyrical drawings, throbbing colours and quiet landscape locales. Some examples of the most romantic compositions of Jaidev and subsequently emotionally charged transformation by Manaku are worthy of high contemplation:-

"Oh spouse of the cowherd, caressing passionately her swelling breasts, proceeds to sing the Panchma Raga." It is a moonlight night almost at daybreak. Birds are still roosting on the trees. Krishna stands caressing the Gopi while the earliest pink specks of the morn have touched the distant peaks across the meadow. "Krishna says: The hair is disarranged by the tossing of tresses, her cheeks bear drops of perspiration, the luster of her red lips is dimmed, the glory of her swelling breasts defeat the luster of the pearl necklace, she is hiding now her breasts and her privacy with her hands. She is looking at me bashfully and though disarranged, is spreading the light of love." Manaku's rendering : It is a lush green composition of undulating meadow skirted by a brook and overshadowed by a grove under which she (Radha) is poised in helpless nude condition besides Krishna. The excellence of mastery over human anatomy coupled with delicacy of body undulations and ebb-and-flow of curvatures is the last word that Manaku has simplified and translated through the simplicity of form.

The two sets of *Geet-Govinda* by Manaku – one painted in Basohli Kalam (1730) and another in Kangra style – seemed to have raged into controversy in the columns of modern art criticism. It was finally resolved that Manaku, while in the employ of the Basohli Court in early eighteenth century, painted the Basohli set that was in the collection of Lahore Museum which I studied in 1946-47. The second set of *Geet- Govinda* painted in Kangra style represents the most exalted and final stages of sophistication which Manaku achieved through his experimentation with his techniques and observations. The throbbing and sumptuous colour, controlled but expressive draughts-manship and the lively set-up of the landscape had established the unique standard for Manaku's compositions. The paintings are supposed to have been painted by Manaku in Guler period of 1760-1770. At some later period of time it appears to have reached the court of Maharaja Samsar Chand of Kangra and later to Tehri Garhwal as the dowry of the two daughters of Sansar Chand who were married into Tehri-Garhwal family. It was purely the genius of Manaku who could establish the Basohli Kalam and then evolve through it Kangra Kalam wherein he displayed all the aesthetic sensitivities and sensibilities.

Another controversy errupted between the well known art historian Karl Khandalavala and the researcher of Pahari movement Mr. M.S. Randhava; the former claiming that the name Manaku of the Sanskrit verse appearing in the reverse side of the Basohli *Geet-Govinda* collection, was actually the name of the noble lady and not of the artist who is supposed to have painted the collection. Mr. Khandalavala's plea was that the name does not appear as Manak but as Manaku sounding it to be a female name. However, the controversy was settled by Dr. Raghuvira, the well-known Sanskrit scholar, who translated and interpreted the two identical colophons appearing on both the Basohli and Kangra styles.

The Sanskrit colophon appears as given overleaf.

Dr. Raghuvira analyses the two last lines in the following manner: *Vyarcayad* = caused to be composed; *aja bhakta* = the devotee of *Aja* (the unhorn, vishnu); Manaku = through Manaku; *Chitrakartra* = the artist; *Vicitram* = charaterised by; *Lalita* = a delicate; *Lipi* = brush; *Geet-Govinda-citram* = The painting of *Geet-Govinda.*

He translates the whole couplet thus: "In the Vikrama year corresponding to the moon, the mountains, the gems and the sages, viz. v.s. 1787 and 1730 A.D., a devotee of Aja, caused this painting of the *Geet-Govinda*, characterised by a delicate brush, to be painted by Manaku, the artist". He adds further the literal meaning of the whole verse thus : "In the year 1787 Vs. (1730 AD) Malini, noted for her qualities of discrimination and judgement, and who prized her character as her principal wealth, who was a devotee of the Immortal one (Vishnu), had a pictorial version of *Geet-Govinda* in beautiful and varied script composed by the painter Manaku". Further he clarifies that `Manak' or `Manaku' is a male name in the hills, and is never used as a female name. The female name is `Manako', `Gulabo' and so on. While pointing to the grammatic principal and the gender of its Agent, Gopi Krishna Kanoria[10], Scholar and aesthete, clears the confusion in an easy manner. `Manaku', the principal and its agent `Chitrakartra' is enough to establish the masculanity of the painter[11].

Manak's younger brother Nainsukh took his service with Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu as well. His entry into the court of Jammu changed the entire mood of the tradition. Identically like his brother he had enough to offer to the existing traditions of Jammu Kalam. Observes W.G. Archer, "Within this local tradition (of Jammu Kalam) which reaches its height in the portrait of Brij Raj Dev. Nainsukh of Jasrota appears as a sudden mysterious intruder". "Intruder" in the sense that he introduced and prevailed upon the situations by introducing his strong and well organised notions about the pictorial values over which he had a masterly grip and command. His colour schemes and themes were subservient to the organisation of form and the dimensional planes. In short, he could be put in the category of formalists and abstractionists who use natural forms for pictorial organisations. He could be aptly titled as Picasso and Modrian of the Pahari movement. His is the marked feeling for geometric structure, strong colour and vitalistic line. His whole approach is architectural. His pictures are a series of receding and forwarding planes and thus nothing else could be an ideal contribution to the simple flatness of the local style. Compared to his elder brother Manak who could be called poetic and romantic, Nainsukh was an aesthete and fundamental. A typical example of his planned picturisation is his well-known painting of Raja Balwant Singh listening to Music. It is a well-planned canvas composed with horizontal and vertical divisions of the background and the palace architecture, within which the Raja and the musicians are mere decorations of the broader planning and composition. Another similar masterpiece "Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu inspecting a horse[12]".

In earlier career of his Guler days and later on in Jammu his aesthetic and formalistic principles dominated the local tradition, while his occasional short visits, under the patronage of Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli, created a great change in later Basohli period. Nainsukh seemed to be a dominating influence in Jasrota also, and being so effective in Basohli, Guler, Jammu and Chambha.

The emergence of Chambha School:

In the later part of eighteenth century the Sambha principality seemed to have been gaining an edge over the neighbouring Basohli. This was the period when Basohli became subservient to Chambha politically as well as economically. This prosperity seemed to be the reason for cultural and artistic rejuvenation, particularly in the fields of architecture and painting. The movements of Nainsukh from Guler to Jammu and from Jammu to the court of Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli where he laid deep influences of his own style that was a subtle fusion of delicate silhouettes and Pahari colour tones. Thus the element of aesthetic Romanticism was brought in the Basohli – primitive style. The style took firm roots in Basohli quickly and very swiftly. The door wings made in Kangra style were brought by Raja Raj Singh to Chamba when he sacked Basohli palace in 1782[13]. It is evidenced that Nainsukh would visit Chamba court occasionally, and later on, his sons Ranjha and Nikka were responsible for the artistic prosperity and the establishment of Chamba Kalam, it being an ideal fusion of Kangra-Guler miniaturism, Pahari purity of colour tones and element of primitive vigour of Basohli forms. The well-known series of *"Rukmini Haran"* are a typical example of Chamba School studies.

The subjugation of and predominance over Basohli seems to have been responsible for the emergence of Chamba style as most of the sons of Nainsukh – Ranjha, Nikka and Godhu led the activity of the atelier of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba[14]. Nikka, the third son of Nainsukh, is known to have founded the style in Chamba court but was later on joined by Ranjha (Fourth son) and Godhu the second son. All the sons, Kama, Godhu, Nikka and Ranjha were, along with their father, the Guleria painters and were for sometime settled there wherefrom they laid their artistic tentacles over Basohli and Chamba, finally settling in Chamba. This activity was further strengthened by the effective contribution of Harku and Chajoo, the two sons (third generation) of Nikka.

Ranjha, the most talented one, remained in the court of Raj Singh from 1772-94. These were the years when well-known *"Anirudh Usha"*[15] series were painted by him. Intermittently, Ranjha seemed to have been paying commissioned visits to Basohli where, in the service of Raja Amrit Pal he painted the *"Nala-Damayanti"* series[16]. This series, though painted in Basohli was the typical chamba style, thus having laid its strong influences on Basohli tradition. In this series there are visibly strong influences of Chamban architectural forms[17].

Ranjha the fourth son of Nainsukh, was most dynamic in maintaining relations from Chamba with Guler and Basohli as well. He seems to have been occasionally attending in these courts, particularly the court of Raja Bhup Singh of Guler[18].

A significant collection of *Ramayana* series was painted by Ranjha during the reign of Raja Bhupendra Pal (1816) of Basohli. The basic drawings of the series were got made by Ranjha from another Kashmiri artist (not in the family) named Sudarshan[19]. This gives insight into the methodology and process that must have been going on into the workshops of artists, where there used to be a professional division between master-drawer and the painter. Such a tradition in division of work seems to have been lingering on in the house of the last-known painter, Narayan Joo Kachru *"Mooratgarh"* of Srinagar. The division of work was found between him and his wife where his wife would prepare the drawings and he would complete the miniatures with colours and the brushwork details[20].

Ranjha's son Gursahai (fourth generation and grandson of Nainsukh) proved a greater genius in drawing and draughtsmanship. Super-sensitive, erotic and highly passionate themes were the main subjects of his paintings. His great studies in appreciation of human anatomical form and its highly interpretative formation could have been the work of a genius only. He thus composed highly sensitive compositions of Nude studies. The *"koka-shastra"* series also remained one of the chief products of his collections.

Atra, the son of Nikka worked in the court of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba. The inscription over one of his paintings reads the names of Nikka, Ranjha (Ram Dayal), Chajju, Harku (Nikka's son) and Saudagar (the fifth generation and grandson of Nikka) besides himself, mentioning all to be in the atelier of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba. Ram Dayal, the grandson of Nainsukh worked in the court of Bijai Sen of Mandi. Kiru- five generations away remained in the court of Patiala.

Nainsukh's elder brother Manaku had two sons, namely Khushala and Fattu. The whole family worked in the court of Raja Goverdhan Chand of Guler till his death in 1773. They continued with Raja Prakash Chand till 1785, but intermittently leading their projects in other centers like Basohli and Chamba. The occurance of financial crisis in the court of Guler led to the migration to Raja Sansar Chands court at Kangra. Khushala became the chief painter in the Kangra court and painted a *Geet-Govinda* series for Maharaj Sansar Chand. Chetu the great grandson of Khushala (fifth generation) and Sultanu the grandson of Nainsukh, both were the court artists of Raja Shamsher Singh (1826). Chetu's paintings reached the court of Garhwal, but there are indications to his physical presence in the court of Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal[21], where he established the Garhwal School of Pahari movement[22].

The other important centers of Pahari movement led and established were Tira Sujanpur[23], Mandi,[24] Patiala (a non Himachal center) and Kulu. The Kulu style is considered to be an ideal amalgam of folk and Kashmir style. Some of the fourth generation Rainas migrated to Kulu in the second decade of the eighteenth century.[25] Surprisingly, the six generations of Pandit Seu Raina produced about forty-six children, and all of them artists, who penetrated their genius very deep into the mileu of all Himachal principalities, thus embedding the whole treasure-accumulation of four thousand years into their new home of outer Himalayas. It needs yet another treatise to keep their track in all the courts and cultural centers of the region.

The essence of cultural treasure of Himachal Pahari is the decoctant of human experience accumulated through the constant in-flux and out-flux of human migrations and re-migration along with the shores of Mediterranean, the Tigris-Euphratic waters and the settlements which thrived along the shores of Ganga, Yamuna, Sindhu and Saraswati[26]. It has been time-and-again that this forward human leap had to be preceded by a mighty exodus of civilised races. Thus the history in this respect, has been repeating itself; and I think to complete the circle the 'history' has again put us on the exodus to give once again a great leap forward as we did in the recent past.

I think, this is the only call (or should I call it NAAD) of the hour for those who migrated due to the convulsions of History.

(Footnotes)

[1]Wushkar Baroque : Wushkar, a well-known village in Baramulla (Kashmir) on the bank of Vitasta where famous Budhist Viharas had a massive façade 314 ft. long of terra-cotta creations depicting Bhudha 's life. In this the image of Bhudda was 2 ½ times larger than normal human size. The style, now internationally

known after the name of the village, is the culmination of Gandhara-Mathura style rendered with sensitive details (linear) of expression and decoration.

[2] The name Shivji Raina is even now common name amongst Kashmiri Pandits. Phonologically, in Himachal Pahari Parlance 'Shiv' has been styled into 'Seu'.

[3] The pilgrimage registers kept by Pandas at Haridwar, Kurukhestra and Pehowa do confirm and state as "Pandit Seu Raina of Guler".

[4] First discoveries : W.G. Archer and Percy Brown.

[5] Though in most inhospitable conditions, this biggest collection now lies in the Dogra Art Gallery of Jammu. Previous to the acquisition, this valuable collection remained as the personal property of one Pahda Kunj Lal, a descendent of the royal physicians of Basohli Rajas. It was in 1956 that a devastating fire in Basohli destroyed property of Hakim Pahda Kunjlal and thus he was compelled by circumstances to present the sizeable collection to the then Chief Minister of the State, Bakshi Gulam Mohmmad who came to visit the town. This valued collection was loaned by the Chief Minister for an exhibition of Festival of Kashmir, of which myself and reputed Kashmir poet late Pandit Dinanath 'Nadim' were the organisers. I felt that this treasure should remain as a national treasure rather than a personal property. Pandit 'Nadim' and myself posed the problem to the then Education Minister Mr. G.M. Sadiq who sorted out the matter with the Chief Minister who showed some displeasure but Mr. G.M. Sadiq got the collection entered as the national property.

[6] Chandigarh Museum and Indian Museum Calcutta.

[7] "Arts of India" Victoria and Albert Museum.

[8] This led to the foundation of Chambha School.

[9] God is achieved not through austerities but through love.

[10] "Notes on Pahari Painting" by Gopi Krishna Kanoria (Rupa Lekha, AIFACS).

[11] should be taken as one word in which is the principal and is its agent denoting the gender. Its feminine would be

[12] Collection of Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[13] Now the door-wings are in the collection of Bohri Singh Museum, Chambha.

[14] 1764-94, rule of Raja Raj Singh of Chambha.

[15] Bohri Singh Museum, Chambha.

[16] Dr. Karan Singh Collection.

[17] Dr. Karan Singh collection. Collection : Bohri Singh Museum of Chambha and the Punjab Museum, Chandigarh.

[18] Kangra – Artists – Art and Letters, 1955, Vol. XXIX. No. 1.

[19] Collection : Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras. "The Artist of the so-called Ranjha-Ramayana drawings" J.R.A.S., Vol. XXI, No. 9.3-4, 1979.

[20] In Kashmir, Papier-Mache professionals are still divided as and Nakash. The original (or =Kashmiri in which by practice becomes silent. So (Hindi)

[21] "N.G. Mehta collection" by Khandalawala.

[22] The "Ramayana Series", "The rape of Yadav women", the "Birth of Krishna" from Bhagwat folio and "Rukmini Parinaya" - all in the collection of Chandigarh Museum.

[23] Godhu the second son of Nainsukh along with uncles Fatu and Khushala, took the Kangra influence in the principality.

[24] Ram Dayal the great grandson of Nainsukh worked in the court of Raja Bijay Singh (1851) of Mandi.

[25] The famous Shangri Ramayana series have been painted in this Kalam.

[26] For the profound indepth and cris-cross forward movement of human culture I refer to great and classic book titled "The Martyrdom of Man" authored by Winwood Reade, and published first a century before.

This article is the English translation of the original Hindi article, authored by Mrs. Nirmal 'Kusum' Kachru. It was published in the Hindi Section of monthly *'Koshur Samachar'* (New Delhi) of August, 2002 issue. Prof. M.L. Kaul's translation appeared in *Kashmir Sentinel* (Jammu) in its issue of November 1st-November 30th, 2002. *Neelmatam* reproduces the article with due courtesy to all concerned.

-Editor

Arnimaal: A Love-Lorn Poetess

It is a pleasing yet strange coincidence that Lal Ded (14th Century), Habba Khatoon (16th Century) and after a lapse of two hundred years Arnimaal adorned Kashmiri literature through their poetical geniuses. Not unlike Habba Khatoon love-songs of Arnimaal (1737-78) *'Vachun'* in Kashmiri, are with us as a treasured bequest. Songs as extant in *'Banasaur Katha'* and *'Sukh-Dukh Carit'* testify that Kashmir had an entrenched and long standing tradition of writing lyrics. In Kashmiri semantics *'Vachun'* is the original form of lyrics embodying the lilting lyricism of folk-songs. As *'Vachun'* is deeply imprinted by folk-songs, it is not quite easy to tell it from the genre of folk-songs. In fact, the very recognition of *'Vachun'* as such is equally difficult.

The historians of yore have written next to nothing informative of Kashmiri language and literature. There are some stray references about Lall Ded as a yogic practician and Sheikh Noor-ud-Din alias Nunda Rishi as devotees of God and also about Habba Khatoon as the beloved wife of King Yusuf Shah Chak.

The lyrics of Arnimaal Kachru available via oral tradition are sung in accompaniment with Kashmiri musical instruments like *'tumbaknari* and *' naut'* on marriage festivities in Kashmiri homes. The tradition has lasted for umpteen generations. Even today a good number of her lyrics are found scribbled in the song books of folk- musicians.

Arnimaal lived during the tyrannical and barbaric rule of Afghans invited to Kashmir by Kashmiri Muslims). Prem Nath Bazaz has characterized Afghan rule as the dark in the age history of Kashmir. Girls for fear of being lifted away were married off before the onset of puberty. The social structures of that period were as iniquitous and discriminatory as the present day society is. The status of women was worse than what it was in the Mughal rule. Their life and living with in laws was a woeful and ignominious saga. They were treated as life-less commodities by a male dominated society and were fraudulently posed as models of renouncement, patience, piety and love when actually they were subjected to untold oppression and exploitation and were ruthlessly traumatized and rejected.

Arnimaal Kachru was also married off at a pre-puberty stage, a stage of sheer innocence. She attained maturity and youthfulness in the house of her in-laws, a respectable family of Kachr living at Rainawari, Srinagar. Her husband Bhawani Dass Kachru, was a high caliber Persian poet, historian and politician. He was an achiever in the domain of Persian language and wrote under the pen-name of 'Neku'. The Afghan governor, Juma Khan (1788-92) was a shade removed from his tribe and respected scholars and literati. It was in this period that Bhawani Das Kachru

scaled heights of success and fame. The Afghans too valued his innate creative abilities that were multi-pronged and varied. Bhawani Das was a poet of poetic symposia that were held in honour of the Iranians. Afghanian and other literatures earned a loud applause for the recital of his scintillating Persian poems. Neku achieved tremendous reputation for innovation of a new metre (*bahar*) in Persian. His celebrated poetical work, *'Bahar-i-Tawi'*, written in the same metre became a land mark in the realms of Persian poetry. The scholarly and talented poet moulded in the feudal ambience of Muslim courts grew absolutely indifferent to his spouse who was mad in love with him.

Arnimaal spared no effort to establish an emotional bond with her beloved husband. She picked up the tunes of music and tried hard to acquire the graces behaving Muslim court ambience. But, to her ill-luck, she failed to achieve much of success. The distance between the duo yawned into a wide chasm. Neku turned sullen and indifferent.

Burning in the agonizing fires of separation Arnimal in all disgust and melancholy returned to her parents living at Palhalan, a hamlet (in Baramulla district). A line from her sufficiently supports it :

O golden Jasmine, you blossomed in jungles,
bushes and shrubs.
But Palhalan is your parental abode.

Her captivating songs ooze out varied shades of pain and agony. Separation from her spouse was what tormented her. Rejected love was what agonized her. Here is a lyric soaked in pain and agony :

Wreaths of flowers I wove for my husband
Would that he were to accept it,
Cups of wine I filled for him
Would that he were to come.
I yearn to clasp him in my arms'

Stung by intolerable pangs of separation she is deeply pining for her husband who is distances away from her. In agony she addresses her friend-

O friend, tell him about my agony
I know not what my fault is.

Repaired he to my cruel co-wife :

He is hers, since I learnt it
My whole being is set afire
I lost my appetite,
I am eagerly waiting for him,
How I wish he were with me.

Despaired and forsaken Arnimaal expresses her pathos :

Soaked in tears is my hem
Awaiting you my days drag on.

Why this futile vanity ;
She again sings in melancholy :

When will your soft feet touch my threshold
I place them on my pate,
In agony I came out searching for you
Removing veils and barriers all.
Pray come to me.

The marital life of Arnimal Kachru was seething with pain and anguish. Says she :

O friend, why my husband separated from me
I bathed clean for him,
All adornments went useless,
He did not come.
O loveless, I can't bear with your separation any longer
Without you I shall fade away
Now no more can I wait even for a short while.

Arnimaal has sought ample succour from nature to ventilate her heart-ravaging pain and anguish. The creepers (*hee*), yellow roses (*arni-posh*) and narcissuses (*nargis*) have oft found a mention in her lyrics. Multi-form manifestations of nature like vast green fields, flowing rivers and murmuring rivulets, awesome mountains and snow-capped peaks have deftly been delineated in the context of her gloomy moods and pathos-laden feelings caused by separation from her husband.

For him have I filled brimful cups of wine
O friend, could you go to summon him.
On way to meadow, back from peaks
O friend, take my blessings to him.
Rendering me hapless he frisked away like a deer
Call him, platefuls of sweets and candies are awaiting him
Tears are dribbing incessantly from my eyes,
How to bear with pain and agony,
Call him loud and clear

Again she says :

O friend, why does he kill me by inches?
I left my native abode for him
Why does he not take care of me?
He deserted me in the dense dark night
I am a youthful beauty, I abandoned my abode for him
Whole day passed awaiting him.
His growing indifference has rendered me mad,
I bear with taunts flung by one and all.

Addressing her husband she in all despair bursts out :

O, my love,
You were the friend of my youth
Initially I knew not how to value it
Wasted it away,
Now I am pining and withering.
Show me your countenance,
I am dying for a mere glimpse
O, friend of my youth.

There is an exemplary confluence of hope and despair in the love-laden lyrics of Arnimaal. Helplessness, unfathomable perseverance, endless wait and incessant agony are the emotional states that weave the warp and woof of her lyrical orchestrations. But the world of her intense emotions is lacking in broad sweep. Her lyrics limpidly mirror the mind of a deserted woman who is in deep despair, lonely and yearning for a rendezvous with her spouse distances away from her. She is in anguish yet she is hopeful and optimistic. She is a broken reed, yet she yearns for a concourse with her husband who has forsaken her. Malice and ill-will never come her way. She could have screamed fire and fury at her husband who has cruelly left her high and dry. But she maintains her calm and poise. Says she :

Your love impelled me to abandon my abode
You knit up your brows and frowned at me,
I wished you long life as that of Lomesh Rishi.
Tell me oh tell me
Who ill-advised you not to return to me?

Pouring out her heart Arnimal says :

Would that he were to come once
I would sacrifice my life for him.
Why he trampled me, a creeper that has fully bloomed.
O friend, I have none to confide
I am teased and mocked at
What if he does not talk to me.
Let him live long and be happy
Let him be with my co-wife.

Arnimaal is tormented by pangs of separation and is in hell-fires of despair, yet she sings of hope and happyness :

Of hope of the hopefuls! Enliven my heart with hope
Remove dark despair from it
He repaired to lahasa for benefits
I am eager awaiting him
Sowing the seeds of warm friendship
And wish no hurt even to enemies

She is under the perpetual grip of blues and greys. She is wretched and forlorn. Says she :

He never stood by his promises ,
He bewitched me and went away
O friend, can you manipulated his return?
Everything in this world is fleeting and transitor
Flowers bloom and soon fade away.

Memories of her spouse cause her pain and anguish. She weeps and wails for his quick return. In pain and grief she sings :
When will he return to me, a woman in bubbling youth?

I am shedding tears endlessly,
Can I ever forget the deep craving for him?
My whole being is afire like a coniferous twig,
My pain know no end, tears in torrents
go on dripping from my eyes.

Despite her husband's indifference and sullenness Arnimaal never ceased to yearn and long for his close companionship. A lyric of hers opening with the yellow-hued rose *(arin)* is highly popular with lovers of Kashmiri poetry and music. She sings :

Mine is a life brimming with pain and agony
You got my heart perforated by the taunts of others
You got it burnt like a half burnt cloth-piece
Who will convey my wretchedness to him
When will he turn up to show his countenance to me.

Again says she :

Cheating me he went away
He mocked at me in presence of strangers
When should I expect him back?

This is quite a popular lyric, almost on the tip of every Kashmiri's tongue. Mehmood Gami impressed so much by the lyric has in one of his lyrics immortalized the refrain. *Arnirung gom shrawan hiye....*

In fact, the two lyrics are of different stamp and are not the same in feel and style. Sh. A K Rahbar written in Kashmiri has dilated

in detail on the two lyrics in his work. 'History of Kashmiri Literature' (written in Kashmiri) and made thorough comparative study. His decisive conclusion is that the opening lines are that of Arnimaal and not that of Mahmood Gami. The lyric of Arnimaal excels that of the latter in its naturalness and lyrical melodiousness.

The following lyric of Arnimaal is an exemplary specimen of highly artistic use of word and meaning in Kashmiri language :

When in slumber he pulled at my soft wrist

The ornament adorning my arm hurt me great

He snatched every bit of gold from me

O friend, he left me sad and forlorn

Who should believe whom?

Another famous and quite popular lyric of Arnimaal is that of 'spinning wheel' which became her inseparable companion after separation from her spouse. The lyric is bequeathed to us from our mothers and grand-mothers and is typically Arnimaalian in content and style.

O spinning wheel! Do not murmur and grumble

Thy straw-rings I shall oil

Raise the head from under the earth, O! hyacinth.

Arnimaal is a master craftsman of simple, bewitching and melodious language, which is not excessively burdened with Persian and Sanskrit vocabulary . Each word of hers is natural, plain, musical and lilting. Her love-lorn mindscape is deeply touching and pathetic.

In an appraisal of Arnimaal in his work '*Kashmiri Language and Poetry*' in urdu Abdul Ahad Azad, a poet critic, writes, Arnimaal was masterly in musical arts. This is why her lyrics are found in various works on music. They have the same hue and tune of Habba Khatoon and occasionally she even outstrips her".

In his editorial note to Azad's book Mohammad Yusuf Taing, writes, "Azad has not elaborately detailed out the statement that Arnimaal outstrips Habba Khatoon. It appears that his observation underlines naturalness and lyrical potential of her songs." Taing has no reluctance to admit that Arnimaal's lyrics are quite touching and sensitizing.

Writes Dr.Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani, "The deftness to weave captivating images establishes Arnimaal as an unrivalled poet of her times. Masterly communication of heart-felt feelings and experiences is her forte. She is free from laboured and unwanted ornamentation of word and meaning. This feature makes her language simple and musical with powers to touch our hearts."

The lyrics of Arnimaal are suffused with an optimism as she never let go hope about the return of her husband. As per an oral tradition Bhawani Dass Kachru having been tired of ostentatious court life returned to meet Arnimaal. But the pangs of protracted separation had seared her so much as to cause her death at a young age of forty one. The twain could not meet. ***Tragic, very tragic indeed !***

References :

1. Bazaz P. N., *'Daughters of Vitasta'*, P-175

2. Kaul J.L., *Kashmiri Lyrics* ,P-54. All subsequent lyrics quoted here are from *Kashmiri Lyrics but their English rendering is by* Prof. M.L.Kaul.

3. Rahber A.K., *Kashmiri Adbaech Taerikh* Volume-1, P-256

4. Abdul Ahad Azad, *Kashmiri Zabaan aur Shairee,* Volume-2, i.e.241.

5. *Ibid,* P241.

6. Toshkhani Dr. Shashi Shekhar, *'Kashmiri Sahitya ka Itihaas,* (in Hindi) p.95

Soon after gifting away the valley to the Dogras as a reward for the services which Gulab Singh had rendered them, the British realized their mistake in losing the territory that was not only the most beautiful in the whole of Asia but also, strategically, the most important.

The British administrators no less than inquisitive European tourists were keen on knowing the country, the former for political and international reasons, the latter to satisfy their curiosity about fauna and flora found in the region, to enjoy scenic beauties or to hunt wild game. There was a vast field in Kashmir for energetic Christian missionaries who desired to take up humanitarian and evangelic work. In the early fifties of the 19th century, young men imbued with religious zeal whose lives were dedicated to the cause of the Church, arrived in India to serve the down-trodden men and women of Kashmir. In 1854, Colonel Martin, an Army officer who had just retired from his command at Peshawar, proposed to Reverend Robert Clark of the Punjab Mission to tour Kashmir, Ladakh and Skardu, the latter readily agreed and both proceeded on the fateful journey after making adequate preparations, They were accompanied by two Indian Christians, Maharaja Gulab Singh seemingly accorded them a friendly welcome in the cynical expectation that they will return down-hearted. He is reported to have told the missionaries: " My subjects in Kashmir are very bad. I am sure that no one can do them any harm. I am rather curious to see whether the *Padri Sahibs* can do them any good."

On return, however, Clark forcefully represented the needs of the Kashmir people to the Christian Missionary Society in London. He received much support for his views from a group of leading civilians and military men including Sir Robert Montgomery, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and a requisition was sent to the C.M.S. to start work in Kashmir. The Governor's donation of a thousand rupees, in aid of the proposed mission, was the nucleus of a fund that the generous liberality of friends rapidly augmented to over fourteen thousand rupees. Thereupon, C.M.S. accepted the proposal; Mr Clark and Mr. Smith of Benaras were appointed, in 1863, to open the Mission in Kashmir.

Clark remained in the valley for summer months and carried on his humanitarian work as best he could. Next year, in April 1865 A.D., despite the opposition and antagonism, he returned accompanied by his wife who started a dispensary for women almost at the exact place below Nawa Kadal where subsequently the Diamond Jubilee Zenana Hospital was opened by the Kashmir Government.

In 1865, the Christian Missionary Society allocated a substantial sum for the medical work. Dr. Elmslie, a man of saintly nature, was deputed to found a hospital. He was a Scot and the first medical missionary to come out to India. He arrived in Srinagar in the spring. At that time no European was allowed to remain in the valley for the winter. Incredible as it may seem today, he had patiently to take refuge under a graceful chinar, examine patients, give

advice and administer medicine. Likewise, he did the operation work in the open.

Unable to obtain adequate accommodation, next year too the good doctor pitched a tent and used it for both out-patients and in-patients. During that season he had, however, 3365 sick men and women to treat. For four seasons Dr. Elmslie either roamed about the valley or sat under canvas restoring health and happiness to thousands of Kashmiries of both sexes and all classes. He worked single handed and it is remarkable that despite local prejudice and opposition of the Authority, he made the mission a success. Sick people increasingly flocked to him and before long the allopathic treatment as well as the Christian missionaries became popular in the land of Lalla Rukh.
The strain however, proved too much for Dr. Elmslie and before he could see the fructification of his desire to found a hospital, he died in 1872. The noble task was accomplished by his immediate successor Dr. Theodore Maxwell whose forbearance and patience were exemplary. He was a nephew of General John Nicholson and therefore, commanded respect in the Kashmir officialdom.

Four years later, in 1874, Maharaja Ranbir Singh granted to the Christian Mission an ideal site- ideal from health point of view- on Rustum Gaddi Hill near the Dal Gate, for the construction of the hospital, and at State expence a building was erected at the spot. For about three-quarters of a century the Mission Hospital became a place of asylum to the poverty-stricken, suffering and friendless men and women of the valley. Those who were declared incurable resorted to this health-centre to seek remedy and relief. Two brothers Dr. Arthur Neve and Dr. Ernest F. Neve who worked in the hospital for more than two decades earned deep affection of the Kashmiris; they were looked upon as celestial physicians and best friends by the poorest and the humblest. Arthur died in Kashmir and lies buried in the Christian cemetery at Sheikh Bagh. Never could any government hospital rise so high in the estimation of the Kashmiris as did this Drugjan Hospital, as it was popularly known, till it remained under the management of the Christian missionaries. It was a boon to the ailing sections of both the sexes. In 1949, the hospital was taken over by the State authorities and converted into a special sanitorium for the victims of tuberculosis.

The movement of moral and material uplift received impetus when Church of England Zenana Missionary Society decided to lend a helping hand in Kashmir work. Another hospital, exclusively for women, was founded at Rainawari. It rendered great service to Kashmiri women and earned equal fame. Among the lady missionaries whose devotion to the cause of women's health deserves to be recorded are Miss Butler, a lady doctor, Miss Erene Patric and Miss Robinson, trained nurses, who laid down their lives while on duty in the valley. Another good soul was Miss Kate Knowles M.B. who worked in the beginning of the present century, to

caterv for the needs of women in Srinagar.

The Christian missionaries drew up plans for founding a school and forwarded them to C.M.S. in London. These were promptly approved and funds granted liberally for the purpose. Many years had to be spent in preparation to dispel ignorance, fight prejudice and allay distrust before a primary school could be started.

Finally, perseverance and patience triumphed when, one fine morning in 1881, Rev. J.H. Knowles gathered a number of boys and youths who displayed some eagerness to learn. Little can we imagine the joy with which the Reverend Father beamed when the Kashmiri pupils consented to read English under him provided by doing so they were not converted to the faith of Christianity. The opening of the C.M.S. School was a red-letter day in the annals of modern Kashmir.

Within a brief period of ten years the C.M.S. Primary School was, by degrees, raised to the high standard and the number of students could be counted in hundreds. It was a truly phenomenal success. When Rev. C.E. Tyndale Biscoe, the unforgettable benefactor of the Kashmiris, joined the school in 1891 A.D. to assist Rev. Knowles, there were no less than 250 students on its rolls.

Year after year, the school turned out men gifted with an entirely new outlook on life who spread far and wide in the country as teachers, officials, traders, artisans or as professionals. The products of the Mission School were talking a different language and behaving in a novel, unorthodox and non-conformist manner. An intellectual revolution born in the class-rooms of the institution was slowly traveling in diverse directions and was imperceptibly bringing the whole society in its vortex.

The success that attended the efforts of the missionaries in both medical and educational enterprises further emboldened them to attack the citadel of women's colossal ignorance. To make timid female patients attending the hospital feel at home and be comfortable, one or two lady missionaries had arrived from abroad to assist the doctors. It struck them that they should do something to teach girls, at least the rudiments of learning.

Sometime in 1893 or 1895 (it is difficult to be sure about the exact date), a girl school was started quite adjacent to the thriving boys school. Persuasion, blandishments and appeal to sense of patriotism were utilized to prepare some parents for admitting their tiny girls in it. A few students were enrolled who actually attended the first class.

Among the heroic souls who braved the roughest weather in making girls education acceptable in Srinagar, were Miss Churchill Taylor, Miss Stubbs and Miss Goodall.

No sooner was the first C.M.S. Girls School well established and on its way to progress than another school was opened by the Christian missionaries and attached to the Boys School. Thenceforth the work made smooth advance year after year. In the beginning of the 20th century, the

Mission Society had extended the sphere of their activities to towns like Anantnag and Baramulla.

At the turn of the century, Father Brauer arrived in the valley and pitched his tents in Baramulla with the purpose of founding the St. Joseph Convent. A couple of years later, in 1903, he was joined by J.P. Boland, a teacher in Murree, when both together started a school for boys which in course of time flowered into a co-educational college imparting learning to young people in and around the ancient town. The nuns, sisters and nurses of the convent soon earned the affection of the Kashmiris; reputation of the hospital spread far and wide in the countryside and thousands of ailing women and sick children flocked to the center to regain lost health. Miss E.G. Hull who laboured for a decade to bring light and happiness to the women half a century ago, was a welcome visitor in both humble and rich homes. She was freely admitted into the Zenana of even the upper class Muslims and orthodox pirs. When in 1809 ill health forced her to retire and return home in England many women lamented over it. Notable among these magnanimous servants of humanity are Miss Fitze, Miss Coverdale, Miss Gomery and Miss Mallinson.

In 1885, at the accession of Pratap Singh to the throne, to begin with, a British Resident was thrust upon the protesting Maharaja and stationed at Srinagar.

Almost immediately basic changes were introduced in the policy of the Government. Among other things attention was paid to the neglected problems of public health and mass illiteracy. The whole system began to be re-oriented.
Educated, trained and experienced people were imported to replace the officers.

Within a few years of the establishment of the new regime, things in Kashmir assumed a touch of modernism. A moiety of public revenues was expended on nation-building works. In 1889 a building was constructed on the bank of the Vitasta, two furlongs above Amira Kadal bridge, to house a hospital equipped with latest medical instruments; and trained doctors from the Punjab and Bengal were appointed to look after the health of the people. The capital was gifted with a nominated municipal committee to conduct the civic affairs of the city. A few years later, in 1896, a Zenana hospital was founded just below Nawa Kadal in memory of the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria's rule.

In 1912, the educational authorities appointed a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to go into the matter and report whether the time was opportune for opening girls schools in the State. The members of the committee included Dr. Duni Chand, Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Kulbhushan, Health Officer, Mr. Nanda, Divisional Engineer, P.W.D., Mr. Shankar Koul, Head Master C.M.S. School, besides the President and a member of the Srinagar Municipal Committee. After many months of deliberations and consultations, the committee submitted an unanimous report to the Maharaja strongly recommending that

two schools should be started in the cities of Srinagar and Jammu to bring the State in line with the rest of India in the sphere of female education.

The State authorities, therefore, reasonably thought of making a start with a primary girls schools for Hindus at Fateh Kadal in the heart of the city. Muslims were considered too backward to look favourably at the experiment. Two brothers, Hargopal Kaul and Jankinath Kaul, both public spirited lawyers, voluntarily co-operated with the educational officers in opening the school. The first Kashmiri Pandit lady who had the honour to give lessons to girls was Tekri. She was impelled by a burning desire to serve the cause of education and volunteered to work in the school. For some time she was all alone to hear the taunts and gibes of myopic social reactionaries. But she stood firm and worked with distinction till the early twenties. In Srinagar she was a familiar figure known as Tekri Master.

Hargopal's daughter, Padmavati (affectionately called Nanni,) who became a widow in childhood was educated privately, Defying the hostile public opinion, the liberal father offered the services of the bold girl as a teacher of the school which was later on shifted to Chinkral Mohalla and raised to the middle standard. Padmavati served uninterruptedly as Head Teacher of the school for over a quarter-century and honourably retired only when old age incapacitated her for further work. The Chinkral Mohalla Government Girls School was known among Kashmiri women as Nanni's Chathal (School) and it was here that first batches of girls received their lessons besides some instruction in handicrafts like tailoring and embroidery.

To keep a strict watch over the functioning of the school and to create confidence in the minds of the suspicious and orthodox parents, the educational authorities constituted a non-official advisory committee composed of influential men including lawyers, traders, landlords and hereditary dignitaries. Public spirited local officials were also associated with the committee. The Koul brothers were the two most indefatigable members of the committee. As a matter of fact, in earlier years, first Hargopal and afterwards Jankinath, presided over the deliberations of the committee and managed the affairs of the school.

In course of time, the Government started a Muslim school in Srinagar with an advisory committee of liberal Muslims to look after it. The medium of instruction in the Hindu schools was Hindi in Devnagri script but in the Muslim schools it was Urdu in Persian script. A common language and script was considered impracticable at that stage because Kashmiri was not regarded even as a dialect by the rulers of the country.

By 1920, apparently, girls education had registered some progress. Besides the three mission schools, a new non-denominational high school run directly by the State Education Department, a Muslim School and five Hindu Schools (three of Middle standard) were functioning in different parts of Srinagar.

(Condensed excerpts from the original paper by P.N. Bazaz)

SHRI BANARSIDAS CHANDIWALA SEWA SMARAK TRUST SOCIETY

In The Service Of Society For More Than 50 Years

BANARSIDAS CHANDIWALA INSTITUTE OF MEDICAL SCIENCES (B.C.I.M.S)

'Know Us, Know Life'

State-of-the-art super speciality hospital providing excellent health care services at affordable rates. It has several functional departments such as Eye, Orthopaedics, Physiotherapy, Cardiology, Dentistry, E.N.T, Radiology, Pathology, Gynaecology, Paediatrics, Surgery, Medicine, Dermatology and Homeopathy. Indoor and outdoor facilities are available.

The Eye Centre is regarded as one of the best in Delhi and is credited with starting the first Excimer Lasik Laser Centre in the Capital.

OPD from 9A.M to 8P.M

Ph: 6826237/8/9, 6826204/05

AYURVEDIC DISPENSARY & KAIRALI MARMIC MASSAGE CENTRE

- *In house treatment* for all chronic diseases like diabetes, heart, leucoderma
- *Kairali massage* treatment for *arthritis, spondylitis, slip-disc, joint pains & muscular pains*
- *Body-rejuvenation & pain relieving techniques* at the most affordable rates

For any information or queries, Contact:

Ph: 6826201/02

Extn: 35 (Ayurvedic Clinic)

Extn: 40 (Kairali Marmic Massage Centre)

INDOOR FACILITIES OF B.C.I.M.S

A 100-bedded hospital, we offer the following *Indoor Facilities* to our valued clients:

- A modern well-maintained Ward categorized into *Deluxe (or Private), Semi-Private* and *General*
- *Diet facility* available for all categories of ward
- Arrangement for the stay of an attendant of the patient inside the ward
- *Round-the-clock nursing stations* under the supervision of a *Resident Medical Officer*

PSYCHOLOGY CLINIC

- State-of-the-art psychology assessment, counseling & psychotherapy services
- Specializes in the management of dyslexia, anxiety, depression, hypertension etc.
- Neuro-psychological assessment and rehabilitation in cases involving head-injury, brain tumour, dementia, Parkinson's and Alzhemier's disease

HEALTH CENTRE

(Gym and Spa)

'Look Good, Feel Great!'

- Facilities like *Sauna, Steam Bath, Jacuzzi, Chilled Shower & Massage*
- *Body Shaping, Muscle Toning, Height Increase, Yoga & Aerobic Exercise* are some of the salient highlights of the Health Centre
- *Fully equipped beauty parlour for females, with facility for special bridal make-ups & saloon for males*

Contact: Manager Ph: 6826236

FOOD COURT

'Kaun Jaaye Ghalib Dilli Ki Galiyan Chhode Kar'

- A/C Complex with old Delhi hospitality, charm & grandeur
- *Rang Mahal*, a multicuisine speciality restaurant, is a gastronome's delight
- *Le Café*, serving Chinese, Continental, South Indian etc.
- Banqueting facilities for conferences, marriages, birthdays, receptions & kitty parties
- Fully equipped for garden parties

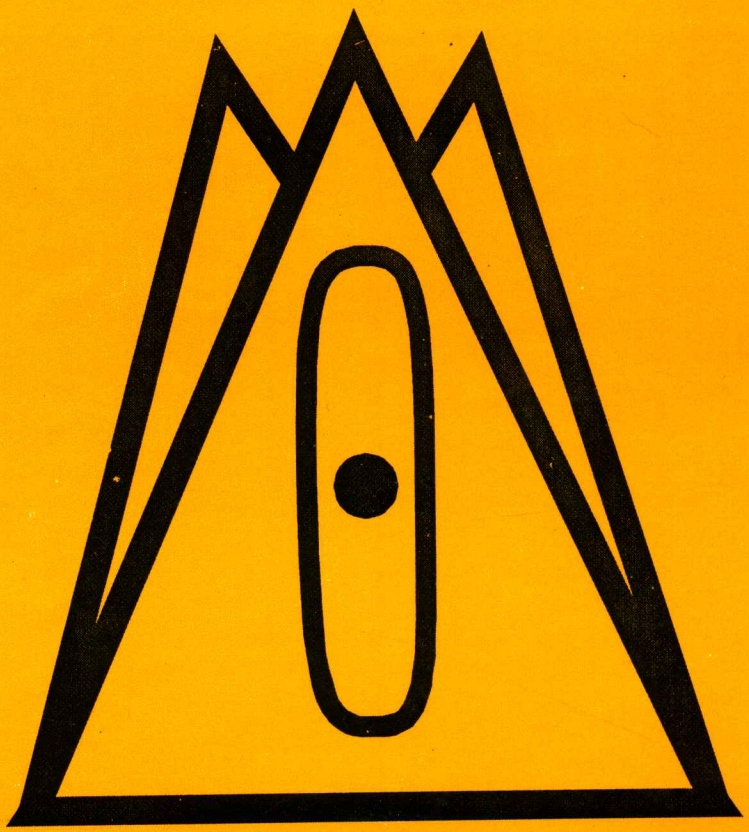
Contact: Manager Ph: 6826233

SHRI BANARSIDAS CHANDIWALA SEWA SMARAK TRUST SOCIETY

Chandiwala Estate, Maa Anandmai Marg, Kalkaji, New Delhi-110019

For further enquiries Ph: 6826201, 6826202 Fax: 6826231.

Visit us at: **http://www.chandiwalaestate.com**



ज्ञानं अन्नं

Printed and Published by P N Kachru C-8193, Vasant Kunj, New Delhi - 110070 for and on behalf of :
Nityanand Shastri Kashmir Research Institute, Vasant Kunj, New Delhi - 110 070
Editor P N Kachru
Typeset at Akshara Graphics, New Delhi - 110 001
Printed at V K Prints, New Delhi - 110055